Birth Control on Main Street: Organizing Clinics in the United States, 1916–1939

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and pioneer, two-level bank, and circular designs). Then come chapters on roof types, building materials, timber framing, decoration, and unique creations. Finally, the scale expands with discussions of silos, farmstead layout, and preservation. Each chapter is short (about 14 pages) and well balanced between text and illustration. Each also includes a half-page sidebar about a particular related issue such as the stovewood barns of Door County, precut kits available from Sears, and preference for the color red. One appendix lists barns on the National Register of Historic Places. The other maps these structures plus those shown in the contemporary photographs.

Jerry Apps is an impressive author. He knows his material through personal experience and academic training and possesses a graceful, storyteller’s voice. The book offers no original research on the distribution of barn types or the success of preservation efforts, but is trustworthy on details of construction and use. The stress always is on the classic structures of the past rather than modern equivalents such as canvas-walled dairy buildings and plastic-tube silos. Some readers may question this orientation, but it allows space to explain many nearly forgotten aspects of rural life. I learned, for example, how builders installed hayforks early in the construction process so as to lift shingles easily to the roof; how an African American, Algo Shivers, built most of Vernon County’s famous round barns; and how the assembly of bents for a typical barn might take a crew three or four weeks.

Iowans will find this book useful. Iowa’s barns are similar, and the text can help residents better interpret them, including the ones beautifully photographed by Michael P. Harker for Harker’s Barns (2003).


Reviewer Rose Holz is a historian and assistant professor of practice in women’s and gender studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. She is the author of The Birth Control Clinic in a Marketplace World (forthcoming).

Before I begin, I need to come clean: Cathy Moran Hajo is a friend of mine and because of the similarity of our research interests, we have read much of each other’s work. I am delighted therefore that her book has finally come out because Hajo adds new stories to and challenges long-held assumptions about the oft-told tale of Margaret Sanger and the early twentieth-century birth control movement. She
does so by framing her analysis around the local birth control clinic. Not content, moreover, to analyze just one or several clinics within a given locale (as others have done), Hajo examines more than 600 facilities across the nation. Her account is thematically arranged — in terms of the clinics’ relationships with activists, patients, national birth control organizations, and the federal government, as well as their intersections with eugenics and racial politics — and it covers the first boom of clinic establishment, which began in the teens and peaked in the 1930s during the Great Depression.

What, then, does she find? First, Hajo forces us to move beyond Margaret Sanger and the American Birth Control League as the source of the movement’s success. It was the clinic, after all, that local organizers seized upon with gusto, and it was the clinic that legitimated the cause locally while simultaneously working to satisfy women’s unmet birth control needs. Second, her focus also dispels any notion that most clinics “behaved like smaller versions of Margaret Sanger’s first doctor-run establishment” (3). Instead, the institution was far more malleable, as much a product of local needs and constraints as it was of directives from the national office. Third, a focus on the clinic invites readers to understand, and to differentiate between, what activists said and what they did (3). While much has been made of the movement’s benevolence and its racist and eugenicist underpinnings, seeing what happened inside the local clinic suggests how complicated the relationship between ideas and practice was. As a result, the clinic comes off as a complex and dynamic institution, full of as much life as it was of institutional rules.

Hajo’s discussion of race is especially interesting. Without forgiving any of the movement’s prejudices, she takes aim at those who portray the clinic as simply a tool to reduce the numbers of some populations. Certainly, racism was at work: White activists didn’t think African Americans could practice birth control or run their own clinics; they also feared working in black neighborhoods. White patients, moreover, complained of black patients in their midst. “It is ironic,” Hajo argues, “that the few efforts that were made [to reach black communities] have been tarred as racist plots to exterminate poor blacks, when the larger picture was one of neglect” — a startling new conclusion to a long and contentious debate (113). Meanwhile, the situation for African Americans was equally complex. Many, even among those who supported birth control and opened clinics of their own, suspected the motivations of white activists, but “none made it the center of their activism” (84). For them, the struggle for racial equality was far more complex.
For those interested in the history of the Midwest, this book offers a fair amount. It offers, for example, intimate looks into the workings of clinics in places like Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Milwaukee. Although we learn very little about those found in Iowa, this could serve as a source of inspiration. As the charts in the beginning of the book make clear, by the end of the 1930s the state did have some clinics; we just don’t know very much about them. That dearth of knowledge should energize Iowa historians to rectify this gap. Each clinic has its own story, and each adds new insight into a complex national movement.

I do have several reservations about the book. First, for all her efforts to examine the clinics’ many intersections, their interaction with the marketplace is only tangentially examined, perpetuating the notion that these worlds existed apart when in reality they overlapped. Thus, the title somewhat misleads. While the sentiment behind it is worthy, in practice “birth control on main street” usually meant commercial sources of birth control, not clinics. Indeed, large as the movement was, clinics served only a fraction of the American population. Finally, as is the case with so many birth control movement histories, Hajo’s story ends in the late 1930s, leaving readers again hanging as to the future of this complex institution. But perhaps she can be forgiven, because, as she puts it, “It is a story for another day” (17). Now it is up to us to make that day happen.


Reviewer Roger W. Lotchin is professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is the author of The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego (2003).

In this ambitious book Heather Fryer compares four World War II western settings: the Topaz Japanese Relocation Camp, the Los Alamos Atomic Laboratory community, the Vanport housing project in Portland, and the Klamath Indian Reservation in Oregon. She concludes that, besides many differences, they shared several commonalities: “marginalization, repression, displacement, and disillusionment [with] the federal government” (32). She also ties their story to a larger one that dates back to President Thomas Jefferson and the physical anthropologist Thomas Morton. Jefferson’s views of a nation based on the yeoman farmer and Morton’s pseudoscience of racial hierarchies